War Mania

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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GANDHI AND MARX

XI

I believe I have dealt with most of the important aspects of the Gandhian and Marxian doctrines. I have tried to show that the Gandhian way of looking at life and life's problems is basically different from the Marxian one, and the difference cannot be stated by such simple equations as "Communism *minus* violence", or "Communism *plus* God" is equal to Gandhism. It is also not correct to equate the aim of "establishing a classless socialist State" with Gandhism. Even to say that Gandhism stands for "philosophical anarchy", i.e. absence of a regular government without the disorder created by its absence, or "dissolution of large-scale political, social, industrial and cultural institutions" appears to me as hardly apposite.

In positive terms, I would say that Gandhism is the method of progressing towards an ideal. The ideal itself, to give Gandhiji's favourite simile, is like Euclid's point, capable of being (rather imperfectly) conceived by the mind, but incapable of being fully realized within a foreseeable future. What we think to be the final goal is found, as we come near it, to be but a stage in the way, and a new far away point appears before the vision as the final one; and this process might take place endlessly. It is a long-range everlasting programme, and yet usefully implementable by even single individuals. Truthfulness, non-violence, equality of status, of opportunities, of distribution of wealth and of necessaries and comforts of life; absence of state control, decentralization, non-mechanization, peace, amity, harmony, freedom from war, regimentation and competition, and the largest measure of freedom consistent with orderly society are several desiderata. None of them can be realized absolutely and singly, and an attempt to select one or two of them for being fully put into practice, apart from others, may lead even to absurdities and monstrous developments. They are not matters of mere mechanical application and enforcement by law. Gandhiji once said in praise of a worker, who, to his knowledge, had always lived a middle-class city life, that "he had caught rural-mindedness". By this he meant that the worker's mind sought to devise simple and rural ways and means of manipulating things, so that one may create in a village the essential comforts of life with self-help, local materials and simple tools. Rabindranath Tagore had also a mission and a message for Rural India. But the Poet's emphasis lay more on the revival of beauty, art and joy in rural life; that of Gandhiji on that of industry, cleanliness, health and morals thereof. He had the greatest regard and full appreciation of the Poet's mission, because his rural-mindedness did not consist in shabbiness, crudeness, irregular and dirty habits, the habit of being satisfied with hard, not to say sub-human, conditions of life, tolerance of injustice and evil, putting up with insults, humiliations or injury to self-respect, and absence of beauty, art, fancy or joy of life, expressed through its prayers, songs, dances, *kathas*, pictures, cottages, house-hold and occupational furniture and other details of life.

Gandhiji's way of life has, on the one hand, been mistaken for the *traditional* Hindu way of *vairagya* and *sadhu* life; his non-violence for the *traditional* Jaina and Vaishnava practices of maintenance and preservation of animal and insect life, even if in a most abject condition and in a way detrimental to the security of the lives of others; his humility, for putting up with insults; and his self-immolation, for non-resistance and submission to evil. On the other hand, his doctrine of active non-violence and the dictum that 'violence is better than cowardice' have been frequently quoted so as to almost give a sanction to war and violent retaliation.

In my humble opinion, these are, perhaps, unconscious travesties of Gandhiji's view of life.

Life, expressed whether in individual or collective form, and whether consistently and harmoniously or otherwise, is an eternal struggle for finding an ideal condition of existence. None knows what that ideal condition, if it is ever realized, will look like in the physical universe; how exactly it can be attained, what unavoidable intervening stages it must pass through to reach it; what exactly should be done to rectify the breaches, wrongs and mistakes committed from time to time; to what extent

and in what manner the consequences of unjust deeds, which have been perpetrated, can be nullified. None can make exact predictions about the future course of individual or social evolution. So none may swear or say of a social order that 'This is in accordance with Truth — the whole Truth and nothing but Truth, and every other order of life is false.' The limitation of man's talents has to be confessed. The wisest is just a seeker and much of his seeking is in the midst of a thick and trackless forest on a dark and cloudy night. A flash of lightning, now and then, might show him a step and vanish. The most earnest seeker has to rely only on that momentary flash to take the next step. Gandhiji humbly realized this limitation and was never tired of repeating Cardinal Newman's line, "One step enough for me." The new and clear lead which he gave, consisted in this: howsoever certain a person might feel about the truth of his words, actions and ideas, he must have the humility to recognize that he may be in error somewhere. The fact that he does not perceive any such error, justifies him, nay, as a seeker and votary of Truth, lays an obligation upon him, to pursue it actively and relentlessly, so far as he is personally concerned, and to preach it to others also. But the possibility of an error lays upon him also the further obligation to see that his pursuit does not inflict harm on others, or compel one, who does not agree with him to submit to it through fear. The existence of opposite views is bound to create a situation of conflict. The only safeguard against this is the insistence on the adoption of truthful and non-violent means. The principle of 'pure means for pure ends' ensures equal rights and safeguards to every one, and makes true democracy possible. He may neither use deceitful and violent methods to bring about an adoption of his view of life; nor abandon his duty to practise and preach his own path, since he is convinced of its correctness. This will expose him to the danger of being deceived and violently dealt with by others, who do not accept the rule of purity of means. The risk has to be faced. If the other side also accepts the same rules of restraint, it would always be possible to find a *via media* for an amicable solution of the conflict. If the other does not accept them, a *satyagraha* conflict would arise. The conflict might result, after it has progressed for a while, in bringing about in the other side a change — if not positively of the heart, — at least of attitude. This will also open an explorable way to peace. It would be a stage in the process of the change of heart by total conversion. But the conflict might also result in the self-immolation and the martyrdom of the *satyagrahi*, when the forces opposed to him are too stubborn. He might also have to suffer, if he is, in the opinion of his opponent, so hopelessly wrong in his perception of Truth, that to relent would be regarded by the opponent as a surrender to untruth on his part. The last would be a case of one *satyagrahi* pitted against another. Though a tragic end is not very likely in such cases, it may be conceived as a possibility in an extreme case.

A violent revolution gives an appearance of radical changes, rapidly brought about in society. But ultimately society returns to the level of the order, which it is fitted for in the process of its evolution. Permanent changes can be brought about only by non-violence. They may involve middle stages and steps, and appear as a compromise of principles. But there is a difference between the two. It is a compromise of principles when the *satyagrahi* accepts the truth of principles, on which the opponent rests his claim. It is a middle stage when, in order to avoid the hardships that might accrue to the opponent by a sudden change in the course of his life, a ladder is built up for a graded progress.

Wardha, 26-4-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

PRAYER *

Thou hast given us to live.
Let us uphold this honour with all our strength and will;
For Thy glory rests upon the glory that we are.
Therefore in Thy name we oppose the power that would plant its banner upon our soul.
Let us know that Thy light grows dim in the heart that bears its insult of bondage,
That the life, when it becomes feeble, timidly yields Thy throne to untruth,
For weakness is the traitor who betrays our soul.
Let this be our prayer to Thee —
Give us power to resist pleasure where it enslaves us,
To lift our sorrow up to Thee as the summer holds its midday Sun,
Make us strong that our worship may flower in love, and bear fruit in work.
Make us strong that we may not insult the weak and the fallen,
That we may hold our love high where all things around us are wooing the dust.
They fight and kill for self-love, giving it Thy name,
They fight for hunger that thrives on brothers' flesh,
They fight against Thine anger and die.
But let us stand firm and suffer with strength
For the True, for the Good, for the Eternal in man,
For Thy Kingdom which is in the union of hearts,
For the Freedom which is of the Soul.

* From *Poems* by Rabindranath Tagore, Published by Vishva Bharati, 2 College Square, Calcutta.

SHANTI SENA, WARDHA

About seventy-five constructive workers of different national institutions of Wardha and Sevagram met in the local Mahila Ashram on the 19th and 24th March under the presidentship of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to discuss the nature and organization of a Shanti Sena (Peace Army) which could be started in Wardha on the lines suggested by Gandhiji in his articles in *Harijan* published several years ago. Among those who attended the meetings were Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Shri Annasaheb Dastane, Shri G. Ramachandran and Shri Kanu Gandhi.

As a result of these two meetings, it was decided to start three Shanti Sena units, one in Sevagram and two in Wardha. Conveners for these units were also selected. A Joint Committee was appointed to co-ordinate the activities of the three units and to prepare a suitable Constitution for the Shanti Sena. It is gratifying to know that Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Prof. Kumarappa and Shri Jaju gladly enlisted their names in the Shanti Sena.

The Constitution of the Shanti Sena, as approved by the Joint Committee, is as under:

Aim

To organize collective non-violence in order to check violence in different spheres of life.

Membership

A person who believes in truth and non-violence and who is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice without malice in facing violence can be a member of the Shanti Sena (Peace Army). The membership of the Army is open to men and women, young and old. In the beginning only persons above 18 will be admitted.

Uniform

The members of the Army will be habitual wearers of *khadi*. They shall also have a badge for easy recognition.

Training

1. Physical: Exercises, drill, and regular productive labour.
2. Intellectual: Serious study, according to age, of Mahatma Gandhi's ideology, brief history of the non-violent movement in India; study of modern economic and political ideologies etc. This training will be given through study circles, books and lectures.
3. Field Service: The study and practice of first-aid methods in times of communal riots, fires, floods and epidemics.
4. The study and practice of peaceful arrangements at the time of meetings, conferences and fairs.
5. Other services in emergencies.

Programme

1. The members of the Army will do at least once a week collective service of the community such as assistance to the displaced persons, service of the depressed class, every kind of sanitation, village service etc.
2. To organize collective spinning and prayers in order to create an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood.
3. To try to remove economic inequality.
4. To assist and act in times of fire, floods, labour strikes, communal riots etc.
5. To try to check corruption, black-marketing and drinking habit in order to raise the moral standard of the public.
6. Other activities relating to the constructive programme.

Organization

1. The Peace Army will keep aloof from all political parties.
2. There will be no place for secrecy in the organization of the Peace Army.
3. In the organization of the Peacy Army. quality and not quantity will be emphasized. Importance will be given to character and spirit of service among the members.

In this connection the eleven vows of the Ashram will have a special place. *

4. The members of the Army will keep maximum contact with the people of their village or locality.
5. The organization of the Army shall be decentralized. Peace Army units can be established in each village or locality of a town; but a Joint Committee could be established for mutual co-operation.
6. It will be essential to observe perfect discipline in the Peace Army.

Wardha, 6-4-'50 S. N. AGARWAL

Shri Nandubehn Kanuga

Shri Nandubehn Kanuga breathed her last on the twenty-third of the last month and joined her husband who had preceded her about six months earlier. Wife of a prominent medical practitioner of Ahmedabad who was one of the earliest to associate himself with Gandhiji along with Sardar Patel she was devoted to her family and domestic duties. She had however acquired her place in the public life of the city in her own right by quiet work in the field of women's service and by taking her due share in the fights that brought India her freedom.

K. G. M.

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* The eleven vows are, Truth, Non-violence, Fearlessness, Self-control, Control over palate, Non-possession, Non-thieving, Physical labour, Non-untouchability, Equal regard for all religions and Swadeshi, all in the spirit of humility.

HARIJAN

May 6 1950

WAR MANIA

I felt that after the recent Agreement nourishment of war-mentality would abate, — if not for all time, at least for a time sufficient enough to observe the results of its working on both the sides. Unfortunately such signs are not forthcoming in a sufficient measure. A craving for war in one place or another seems to have infected a part of our people like that itch, which produces an irresistible desire to scratch the skin in the vain hope that scratching will soothe. In particular, Bengal appears to be extremely irritated by it. She even resents any talk savouring of mildness and feels that such talk by people outside Bengal betrays lack of sympathy in the sufferings of her people. This is very unfortunate क्रोधाद् भवति संमोहः। (anger paralyzes reasoning) says the *Bhagawadgita*. A right remedy cannot be discovered in that condition of the mind.

It will be seen that we generally assume that in these communal typhoons, it is the Hindus who have suffered in every conceivable manner, and that their own conduct has been altogether blameless. We always like to believe that if there has been killing, looting, raping, abducting, official mal-treatment, high-handedness etc., it is all done on the Pakistan side, or by the Muslims in India; that if Hindus have gone astray, it is the result of provocation from the other side. This assumption is not only gratuitous, but also untrue. It has been particularly untrue in the recent events that have taken place in the twin provinces of Bengal and in U.P. It will be of no use to resent telling this. Hindus have been and are capable of being as wicked as the Muslims are held out to be, and in some of the States Muslims are as much fear-stricken as the Hindus of East Bengal are reported to be.

Are we sure that we are undoubtedly more God-minded than our Muslim countrymen? Rather I feel that if from people of different ranks and parts of the country Hindus and Muslims are picked out in equal number, the number of good, kind-hearted, generous and trustworthy Muslims will not be less than that of Hindus. Not only that, but because of the absence of a high-low caste idea in the Muslim, he will often give a more concrete expression to his large-heartedness than what a good Hindu can do. Let us frankly realize and confess this. It will do us good. The moment we change our attitude towards Muslims, and begin to perceive the good traits of their character also, as we do their weaknesses, it seems to me that the Muslims will respond with far greater generosity of spirit revealed in actual action than Hindus, even with honest effort, are capable of. Partition, exclusion, segregation, division and sub-division *ad infinitum* is essentially the Hindu way of life. The smallest differential characteristic, such as occupation, language, style of dress, or food (even if vegetarian), is sufficient for us to insist upon separation. The moment Hindus really become unity-minded, they will find that others were already prepared for it. It is also wrong to think that Hindus must unite among themselves, before they think of their union with others, or that they will unite if the Muslims are away. The spirit of unity does not work that way. It acts upon all spheres of life simultaneously in the proportion in which it is actively awakened.

Wardha, 23-4-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

RETURN TOWARDS FRIENDSHIP

[Extracts from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's broadcast to the people of West Bengal, from Calcutta, on 21st April, 1950.]

Never Irreclaimable

I know that the people in the light of the past history of agreements, which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, approach the latest with sceptical cynicism and even convinced disbelief. Researches in such past made by critics have yielded no new discoveries or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change; even death-bed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore, on the basis of past remissness, to accept future bad faith as an unalterable fact denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature, which constitutes the very elements of our philosophy.

After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and future fears of the successful implementation of such agreements, but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped me to make up my mind to give the agreement a fair trial. We ask nothing more of the sons and daughters of West Bengal. Even those who express dissatisfaction with the agreement recognize that having been once concluded, there is no option but to implement it. In that event, does it not behove them, to make an unreserved and sincere attempt to do so rather than express cramping fears, or demoralizing doubts?

The Prime Minister of Pakistan

I also know that my West Bengal friends are genuinely worried about the concept of an Islamic State and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail. In the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamentals of democracy by the Prime Minister of

Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and put it to the test. The one thing that made a profound impression upon me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurances at their face value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our lifetime. We have at least the background of previous associations and past friendships and goodwill; the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separatism.

I would, therefore, ask you to approach the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance on this matter in the spirit and desire of coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping the minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance for minorities on either side living a life of peace and security to which they are entitled under any civilized Government.

* * *

Important Principles of the Pact

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistan Agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time, we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a representative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit.

The Central Minister would be associated with the functioning of the Minority Commission which would, in its turn, be the watch-dog of the minority's interests in East Pakistan. Thus, for the first time, a readily available avenue of redress has been provided to a minority community and it should not be difficult for us to find out any margin between professions and practice. In these circumstances, it seems to me essential that we, on our part, should give no excuse or justification for any failure of the Agreement in East Pakistan. Similarly, any refusal to avail ourselves of the facilities and machinery available for safeguarding the interests of the minorities in East Pakistan could only be construed as a point against us.

Therefore, those who withhold their hand of co-operation will neither help those who have come away from Pakistan, nor those who have been left behind. Similarly, the Agreement, while providing for full facilities to those who wish to come away, makes fair arrangements for those who wish to remain in Pakistan. I can quite realize the reluctance and hesitation of those, who have recently come to India after undergoing or witnessing, or out of a sense of fear at the horrors that have been perpetrated, to return to their homes. But I would ask them as well as those who have come earlier, to consider the fate and spirit of resignation or helplessness of those, who are remaining behind.

Appeal to the People

It is in this spirit, and for these reasons, that I would like to appeal to my brothers and sisters who have come away to India, or are thinking of making their departure from East Pakistan, to reflect on what I have said above. In the heat of the moment, they should not make up their minds once for all against any possibility of hope of return to the paternal acres which bound their wish and care or to their inhabitations which enshrined for generations their hopes and aspirations. Let them also consider whether, while there is still some hope lingering, they need necessarily undergo that sadness of heart, those unhappy afflictions and the torments and difficulties which are the necessary consequences of uprooting oneself from one's established life and home.

Government Policy

In the meantime, the policy of Government is clear and unequivocal. They will strain their utmost to implement this agreement, and at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the sacred task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognize any State boundaries nor stint any resources that we can command.

We shall also undertake the task of rehabilitating those who might eventually decide to make India their permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in this two-fold task by complying with such directions and arrangements which the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal. It has pained me considerably that interested persons should exploit this opportunity for dissuading refugees from leaving for their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself.

Appeal to West Bengal

I should also like to make an appeal to my friends in West Bengal fully to comprehend the delicate and difficult situation in which they are placed. The agreement has been concluded and its implementation is a point of honour both for the Government and the people of India. Public opinion throughout India, outside West Bengal, and the State Governments have almost unanimously and wholeheartedly accepted the concluded agreement, and are determined to work the agreement to the best of their ability and competence. Would it then pay the people of West Bengal to have a different or contrary line even partially? Let not West Bengal isolate itself and alienate the rest of India.

GOVERNMENT AND KHADI

I

What shall be the extent and manner of help, which we expect Government to give to *khadi* ?

Let us first understand clearly how *khadi* could make further progress today. Government's help must depend on our answer to this question. If we proceed empirically and haphazardly, we might find after years of labour and enormous expenditure of money that it has all been a waste.

Mill-cloth Competition

We should know first that so long as mill-cloth and mill-yarn are unrestrictedly available, neither for commercial nor for 'self-sufficiency' purposes can *khadi* be organized on an extensive scale. Attempts were made to move Governments to put some check on mill-cloth. The Madras Government took a step in that direction, but eventually it could not do anything, and there is no hope for it in the near future. So, we have to proceed on the supposition that Indian mill-cloth and to some extent even foreign cloth will continue to come into the market. Clearly, under these circumstances, *khadi* has only a limited scope.

Limits of Commercial Khadi

2. There are two ways of organizing *khadi* : (i) to get yarn spun and woven for sale on wage-labour and (ii) to ask the people to produce *khadi* for their personal use. The first or commercial *khadi* has a limit beyond which it cannot easily expand. In areas where the *charkha* tradition had not broken down, it has almost reached its peak point. In areas which are new or where the tradition has altogether broken down, it is not easy to train the people to spin and to induce them to take to it. The wages for spinning that we can offer are not sufficiently attractive to draw new women spinners in view of the high prices prevailing everywhere. Consequently the increase in the output will be very slow. Another factor which restricts the production is the amount of stock we can sell. *Khadi* has its customers in a particular section of the people. Can their number be increased ? Congress has made it obligatory for its effective members to wear *khadi*. Their number may be large enough. But will they observe the rule honestly ? Many might content themselves with uncertified *khadi*. Nevertheless, we shall have to watch to what extent the sale of genuine *khadi* is advanced by the Congress rule. Secondly, what increase in the consumption of commercial *khadi* shall we regard as satisfactory ? Surely it should bear some proportional relation to our population of 33 crores. Should we be satisfied if we can sell twice as much as we do at present ? And what time should we take to reach this stage ? These are some of the questions which we have to consider. As it is, we receive reports that *khadi* stocks have accumulated and it has become difficult to dispose of them. My own feeling is that we cannot promote commercial *khadi* in any appreciable measure in the near future. If this view is correct, it is pertinent to enquire into the amount of energy we should put into it.

Help from the Government

3. I should not be misunderstood ; I am neither advocating the reduction nor discouraging the enhancement of commercial *khadi*. The Charkha Sangh is trying to do that by means of certified agencies, though for itself it aims at concentrating its efforts on more fruitful and deep-rooted work. Nevertheless, the expansion of commercial *khadi* is welcome. The question, however, is to what extent should Governments support it and spend on it. I take the view that this work should be done at minimum expense. The Charkha Sangh has produced *khadi* worth crores of rupees and laid down the right policy for the propagation of this work by proving that *khadi* business can be self-supporting. Therefore, if we spend a lot of money and succeed in doing relatively only a little work, Government money would not be said to have been spent well. Government funds ultimately come from taxes on the poor. Every pie thereof is, therefore, valuable and must be spent very carefully. Particularly at present, when Governments are experiencing financial stringency, we must tender them only such advice as is likely to achieve the maximum of result with the minimum expense. I am discussing the question here with reference to the immediate future only, but it will not do either for us or Government to lose sight of its long term aspect. *Khadi* must not be regarded as a mere stop-gap short-term affair ; we must keep in view its permanent character.

Limits of Self-sufficient Khadi

4. The other way of propagating *khadi* is that of organizing it on the self-sufficiency basis. It can be done in two ways : extensive and individual. In the first we choose an area and try to make most of its inhabitants accept and adopt the principle of self-sufficiency in cloth. In this field too mill-cloth stands as a formidable rival, and often we find it beyond our capacity to convince many people of the correctness of our economics and of the principle of *khadi*-self-sufficiency. We work there actively for long and there is an appearance of success, but no sooner the effort is removed than many slide off into the old ways ; they abandon self-sufficient spinning because they had never understood its meaning or had not been sincerely converted to it. They look at the question only from the monetary point of view. If one has to pay for the cotton and the weaving of his self-spun yarn, the saving, in comparison with mill-cloth, is only nominal. Therefore the zeal of the ordinary man for self-sufficient spinning does not endure. Moreover, the organization of this campaign is very expensive. Thus there are many difficulties in organizing area-wise self-sufficiency programme. So far as the labourers are concerned, the Charkha Sangh evolved a way

to train them in the use of *khadi*. For a considerable time, it gave wages partly in the form of *khadi*. But this too did not succeed, being a thing imposed from outside and not of one's own accord. It is evident from the foregoing that any extensive working out of the self-sufficient *khadi* plan has its own limits.

Individual Self-sufficiency

5. We can put our hope in individual self-sufficiency, because here the spinner understands the significance of spinning. So it may take root. It also brings out other qualities associated with *khadi* and which indeed are integral parts of its intrinsic message, namely, the establishment of a non-violent society. This kind of work would grow gradually and may endure. Gujarat has shown good progress in this direction. The Charkha Sangh is now concentrating on it.

Let us see what help Government can give in this respect. It may, in some places — it is already doing so — help us in partly meeting the weaving expenses. Here too we have to consider, how far this help should take the form of money. One of the Provincial Governments has been giving annas eight per yard as its help towards weaving expenses, which means that one can get the weaving done at no cost to oneself. The fear here is that those who lack conviction will give up their spinning when the help is stopped. A man who has taken to self-sufficient *khadi* must know that either he must do his own weaving or be ready to pay for it at a fair rate.

Policy vs. Patronage

6. Though *khadi* normally falls within the sphere of Provincial Governments, the Central Government is also concerned with it in certain matters: e.g. in regard to textile mills, no Provincial Government can independently adopt a line of policy which goes counter to that of the Central Government. Besides, not all the ministers in the provincial cabinets have faith in *khadi*. Generally the various cabinets — barring some individual ministers in some of them — are not very keen about it. Therefore, only if the Central Government could settle a definite policy on *khadi* and make recommendations to the Provincial Governments, would the latter pursue a uniform policy. The Central Government, however, does not seem to have given much attention to this question.

Those who run the Governments and those who are wedded to *khadi* do not belong to two separate groups having different ideologies. Congress is in office in every State and it is still attached to *khadi*. Many of the present ministers have previously served *khadi* for years. There is no reason to believe that they are not as solicitous about *khadi* as many of us. But they do not seem to give any practical indication of it. It may be that they have their own difficulties. However, from what we see it appears that they are not prepared to fulfil certain fundamental conditions which are essential to give a fillip to *khadi*-work. *Khadi*-workers contend that if *khadi* has to be promoted, the obstacle in its way ought to be removed. Governments do not seem to have any such intention. They like *khadi*; are even kind to it. But mere kindness cannot achieve the end in view.

Reason for Not Submitting a Plan

When Congress ministries were formed in eight provinces in 1937, the Charkha Sangh had submitted plans for the promotion of *khadi*. About five or six provinces accepted those plans with some alterations and helped their execution with money. In 1945 also, when Congress ministries were installed in power, *khadi* workers expected help from them and they on their part expressed their readiness to do so. They were willing to give money. But *khadi* could not march forward to its goal merely with the aid of money. Something more was needed. But that, as explained above, Governments were not ready to do. And as the Charkha Sangh was convinced that until those conditions were carried out all the money and labour would be lost to no purpose, it did not submit any scheme. This gave rise to some misunderstanding. Some Governments mistook this decision of the Charkha Sangh for an unwillingness on its part to co-operate with Government. It was nothing of the kind. The position was that the Charkha Sangh could not give advice which it knew would lead to mere waste of public money without any substantial gain.

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

(Translated from Hindi)

B. C. G. Plan for Britain Gets a Set-back

The following 'note of the month' appears in *The Vaccination Inquirer* of March-April 1950:

> ....The Department of Health......[has] issued a statement......announcing that 'technical difficulties in producing the......vaccine had held up the campaign against tuberculosis in [Britain]'......
>
> '........The problems involved were under consideration......and it was hoped that difficulties would be overcome.'
>
> What are these difficulties?......And what are the problems involved?......Did not the Department for Health......get full information on every point before they launched this scheme? It is all very strange and mysterious. After launching the scheme with the greatest possible publicity, the Department of Health......must have discovered something really serious, so serious that they have been obliged to stop the distribution of B. C. G.
>
> Up to the present two things have troubled manufacturers of B. C. G. — it may be too strong or it may be too weak. If too strong it causes abscesses to form; if too weak it is useless for the purpose of creating immunity.
>
> Will the Department of Health......tell the public frankly exactly what happened to compel them to hold up a scheme which they launched so confidently only five months ago?

We hope that as the Government of India too has launched a similar scheme, our Health Ministry will find out what are the circumstances in Britain which have led them to suspend its operation, and will profit by Britain's experience.

V. G. D.

DANGEROUSLY FALSE PROPAGANDA

The reader will see elsewhere Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement to the Press in condemnation of false propaganda. I am glad he has taken note of an article in the *Janata* of Bombay, dated 16th April, in his statement and definitely assured the public that "the whole story is completely false and without foundation," because ever since my attention was drawn to that article by a correspondent, I have had an uneasy feeling in the matter. I had not the least doubt about the attitude and the part of the Sardar in arriving at the agreement. Indeed, in his Calcutta broadcast, he has given a full picture of the working of his mind. Some of the insinuations made in the *Janata* are so incredible that no serious person would rely upon them. But when the atmosphere is surcharged with suspicion, rumours and scandals, people put reliance even on absurd stories.

I felt uneasy about this matter not because the Sardar's reputation was concerned. He is quite capable of looking to his own reputation. But the spread of stories, like the one in the *Janata*, is dangerous to the lives of Hindus and Muslims, and to the honest implementation of the Agreement. There were not people wanting in India, who always maintained and spread the belief that Gandhiji's insistence on non-violence was only a make-believe; and that he was not inwardly averse to terrorism and violence; they also spread the belief that Gandhiji was in conspiracy with foreign Muslim powers, and wanted them to reconquer India. On stories like this, thousands of young men were fed for a quarter of a century. In the same strain is the story that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wanted a war with Pakistan and did not approve of the Prime Minister's policy of finding a peaceful solution. Such stories undermine discipline in the lower ranks of Government Officers, and also give rise to feelings of uncertainty, suspicion and anger in the minds of the general public, and particularly of the refugees.

I hope Pandit Jawaharlal's statement will dispel the doubts. Socialists generally have the reputation of belonging to the class of 'intelligentsia'. Generally they are eminent graduates and double graduates of Universities; several of them are professors and lecturers. College and high-school students are attracted to them as future leaders and champions of the cause of the have-nots. In the simplicity of youthfulness they accept their versions at face value. The responsibility of not resorting to falsehood and of not preaching anything which might endanger relations between communities at this critical juncture is, therefore, very great upon them. They may have their grievances or disagreements with the Government, or the Sardar in particular. They are free to criticize the policies as strongly as they deem fit. But spreading false stories is no substitute for making strong criticism.

Wardha, 28-4-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF FACTS

[The following statement has been issued by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.]

I suppose it is a legitimate game to try to run down political opponents. None of us can object to that, though we may regret the malice and ill-will that sometimes accompany this criticism. But it is quite another matter when facts are twisted and something that never happened is given out as a fact.

It has been my misfortune to see this presentation of falsehood and distortion of truth frequently in a number of periodicals. I have refrained from taking much notice of this kind of thing, though I have regretted deeply the lowering of tone and the vulgarity of some of these publications. But this is not a personal matter and has to be judged from the public point of view. Frequent references are made to Sardar Patel and me, sometimes to my sister who is Ambassador in Washington, sometimes to other colleagues of mine serving the State in various capacities. I have been astonished at the farrago of nonsense and malicious misrepresentation that have appeared.

Recently, in an issue of the weekly *Janata* of Bombay, dated April 16, an article appeared on the front page, which purports to give an account of various happenings in Delhi in connection with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit here. In this article, particular mention is made of Sardar Patel and what he is reported to have said and done. The whole story is completely false and without foundation and I am amazed that such baseless and irresponsible stuff should be published anywhere.

I should like to say here that every step that was taken in regard to my conversations with the Prime Minister of Pakistan was done after full and constant consultation with the Cabinet and with their approval. In particular, Sardar Patel was in frequent consultation with me and we acted in full unison in this matter. I am deeply grateful to him for all he has done at a moment of crisis and difficulty. No person has worked harder for the full implementation of the Agreement than Sardar Patel.

It is with some reluctance that I am issuing this statement to the Press, because I dislike entering into such controversies. But I feel that it would be grossly unfair to my colleagues and to the country if I remained silent on this occasion.

26-4-'50

CONTENTS

		PAGE
GANDHI AND MARX — XI	K. G. MASHRUWALA	81
PRAYER	RABINDRANATH TAGORE	82
SHANTI SENA, WARDHA	S. N. AGARWAL	83
WAR MANIA	K. G. MASHRUWALA	84
RETURN TOWARDS FRIENDSHIP	VALLABHBHAI PATEL	84
GOVERNMENT AND KHADI — I	SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU	86
DANGEROUSLY FALSE PROPAGANDA	K. G. MASHRUWALA	88
MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF FACTS	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	88
NOTES:		
SHRI NANDUBEHN KANUGA	K. G. M.	83
B. C. G. PLAN FOR BRITAIN GETS A SET-BACK	V. G. D	88

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